1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

From other information obtained however, it appears that women were married to these same lovers after the former left the menstrual lodge, so that the presence of men in these lodges may be taken either as a part of the wooing or as one of the methods of marriage. Some theorists may be inclined to look on this feature of the practices connected with the menstrual lodge as a survival of a "women's house." To those the fact may be emphasized that it is only a few times in the life of a woman that such a feature exists, because she is married shortly after leaving the lodge.[6]

MARRIAGE

Girls were usually married as soon as they reached marriageable age, and the same was probably true of men. In most cases marriage was arranged by the parents of the young people, and it rarely happened that the latter refused to abide by the decision—a fact that seems to have been due not so much to implicit obedience as to the wise precautions taken by the parents in mating their children. If, however, the young people absolutely refused to abide by their parents' choice, the latter always yielded. In former times children were betrothed to each other at an early age. At the betrothal presents were exchanged between the parents of the prospective bride and groom. The girl was said to be *dohore'na*.

Generally a man took but one wife, although he was permitted to marry more than one if he wished. In polygamous marriages the second wife was usually a niece or a sister of the first wife. According to a very reliable informant it was the wife herself who often induced her husband to marry her own niece. This she did if she noticed that he was getting tired of her or losing his interest in her.[7]

There was no ceremony connected with marriage. As soon as the customary presents were exchanged, the man came to the woman's lodge and the marriage was consummated.

A man generally lived with his parents-in-law during the first two years after his marriage. During these two years he was practically the servant of his father-in-law, hunting, fishing, and performing minor services for him. Many Winnebago interpreted these enforced services of a son-in-law as part of his marriage obligations toward his father-in-law. After the first two years he returned to

[6] Were it not for the fact that his informant in this case was exceedingly reliable the writer would be inclined to regard with suspicion the statement as to the use of the menstrual lodge as a rendezvous for lovers. It seems, however, that the very fact that the informant shows so great abhorrence of the matters would have prevented him from attributing to men intimacy with women at this time had there been any doubt in his mind on the subject. Nevertheless his statement on the point under discussion seems peculiar and the author would not be surprised if he had exaggerated greatly the number of men willing to leave the bad luck and weakness incident on contact with women during the menstrual period.

[7] As one of my informants said, "A man can marry a woman and her niece. If the man is not steady and goes around with other women, it is customary for the wife to call her niece, and she would marry her aunt's husband. This is done to steady the man. In this way one or the other will always be with him. The same is true of sisters."

*159 584 301 [892] [531] [309] * 159 584 * 159 ● 585 [841]

After a short time she came back all dressed up and ready. She had on a waist covered with silver buckles and a beautifully colored hair ornament; she wore many strings of beads around her neck and had bracelets around her wrists. Her fingers were covered with rings. She wore a pair of ornamented leggings and ornamented moccasins with wide flaps. In each ear she had about a half dozen ear-holes and they were full of small silver pieces made into ear ornaments. She was painted, her cheeks red, and the parting of her hair red. She was all dressed up.

I came to her on horseback. Then we rode together. We were not going to return to the place from which I had started that night, because I had been previously asked to sing at a Medicine Feast at a place on our way home. On the way I therefore hid the girl near the place where the feast was to be given.

The girl had a red blanket, and I hid her under a small oak bush. Unfortunately it rained all that night and the next morning, and when, early in the morning, I went to where I had hidden the girl I found her still there, but soaked through and through from the rain. Her paint was smeared all over her face in such a way that she could hardly be recognized. When we arrived home my grandfather's wife came out to meet us. She helped the girl down from the horse and took her into the lodge. Then we ate and when we were through the girl took off her clothing and gave it to my grandparents who in return gave her other clothing. After the girl had stayed there three nights she had her menses and had to go to her special lodge and sleep there.

Marriage

there. Shortly after a horse was given to this girl I had married. 159* 585●

Some time after, my grandfather had a private talk with me and he said, "Grandson, it is said that this girl you have married is not a virgin and I am not pleased with it, as this is your first marriage and you are a young man. I suppose you know whether this is true or not, whether or not she is a maiden?" "Yes," I answered, "I know." "Well, you do not have to live with her then if you don't care to," he said. So I went away on a visit and from there I went home for good. After some time I learned that she also had gone back to her home. My grandfather was glad that I had not stayed with her and he told me, "You can marry another and a better one, one that I shall choose for you." However I said to him, "Grandfather, you have begged women for me often enough. Don't ever do it again for I don't care to marry a woman who has to be begged for." He was not at all pleased at this for he said that I was not allowing him to tell me what to do. [831] 159* 586 [584] [603]

[P. 129]

you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. 159 *
Then he said, "Come home with me. I have a younger 584
sister; I want her to marry a good man; I would like
to have her marry you." Then I went home with him.
When we reached his home and discussed the matter,
the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.
So there I got married, and what I expected has taken [585] •
place and I have lived with her ever since. On one 159 *
occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this: 795
Before she had married, she had determined that, if 585
she ever got married, she would not care to marry a
very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and
who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she
desired and such a person she said I was. She loved
me and she was glad that she had married me. This is
what she had asked God for in her prayers. "And
indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She be-
lieved that it was the will of God that we had done this.
Together we gave ourselves up to the peyote at a meet-
ing. From that time on we have remained members
of the peyote religion.